

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7669

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T TEHRAN 6854

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652:23&\$

5-& : MASS IR

SUBJ: FRG/IRAN AGREEMENT

REF: 166720

1. I AM, OF COURSE, IN FULL SYMPATHY AND ACCORD WITH OUR EFFORTS TO CONTAIN THE SPREAD OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, INCLUDING REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT. APPRECIATE ALSO THAT CONSISTENT WITH THIS POLICY WE MAY HAVE TO SPEAK OUT ON ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS THE FRG/IRAN AGREEMENT WHICH COULD APPEAR TO RUN COUNTER TO OUR OBJECTIVE. DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT REFTEL INSTRUCTION AS PRESENTLY PHRASED WOULD SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE HERE AND MAY INDEED JEOPARDIZE CONCLUSION OF OUR PENDING NUCLEAR AGREEMENT WITH IRAN AS WELL AS ANY EFFORT WE MAY WISH THE SHAH TO MAKE VIS-A-VIS THE PAKISTAN NUCLEAR PROBLEM.

2. IN SPITE OF REFTEL'S REASSURING LANGUAGE, I BELIEVE THAT THE SHAH WILL INTERPRET ITS OVERALL THRUST AS ONE OF U.S. DISTRUST OF HIS WORD AND IRAN'S COMMITMENT TO THE NPT. AS FAR AS REPROCESSING IS CONCERNED, IRAN HAS TOLD US PLAINLY THAT THE ACQUISITION OF A REPROCESSING FACILITY IS CLEARLY IN THE DISTANT FUTURE (PROBABLY IN THE 1990S) AND EVEN THEN ONLY IF IT IS ECONOMICALLY

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FEASIBLE. FURTHER, IN OUR OWN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS,

WE HAVE BROUGHT IRAN VERY CLOSE TO ACCEPTING OUR POSITION ON ANY REPROCESSING FACILITY IT MAY ACQUIRE FROM US. WHILE WE DO NOT KNOW THE PRECISE DETAILS OF THE FRG'S REPROCESSING COMMITMENT TO IRAN, WE WONDER WHETHER IT MAY NOT BE SIMILAR TO ONE WE MAY BE PREPARED TO GIVE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEFLECTING PAKISTAN FROM ITS CURRENT COURSE. IN SUM, WE BELIEVE THAT IRAN FEELS THAT IT HAS GIVEN EVERY REASONABLE COMMITMENT IT CAN, CONSISTENT WITH ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND DIGNITY, AND THAT TO BE ASKED FOR MORE IMPLIES A BASIC MISTRUST OF ITS WORD.

3. BY COINCIDENCE, I HAD AN AUDIENCE WITH THE SHAH FIVE HOURS BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF REFTTEL, DURING WHICH WE DISCUSSED NUCLEAR MATTERS. THE SHAH SAID THAT HE SAW NO INSUMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS IN REACHING A NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER HE HAD SEEN THE TEXT OF OUR MOST RECENT PROPOSAL, HE DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY. BURZ LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT WHILE HE HAD NOT READ OUR PROPOSAL HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON IT AND SEEMED GENERALLY SATISFIED THAT OUR TWO POSITIONS WERE QUITE CLOSE TOGETHER. HE HAD

EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH HIS AGREEMENT WITH THE FRG AND THAT IT HAD ACCEPTED IN GOOD FAITH IRAN'S COMMITMENT TO THE NPT. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE SAID THAT BOTH FRANCE AND GERMANY WERE WILLING TO GIVE (SELL) IRAN NUCLEAR ENRICHMENT PLANTS. REFERRING TO REPROCESSING, THE SHAH SAID THAT HE THOUGHT IRAN OUGHT TO WORK OUT SOME INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT, IMPLYING THAT HE IS NOW MORE THAN EVER FAVORABLY DISPOSED GETTING A

MULTINATIONAL, OR AT THE MINIMUM BINATIONAL, REPROCESSING FACILITY. AS HE GOT ON TO THE Proliferation QUESTION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, HE SAID THAT IF HE WERE GOING NUCLEAR HE WOULD NOT BE BUILDING SUCH A LARGE INTERNATIONAL

FORCE. I THEN MENTIONED OUR CONCERN ABOUT PAKISTAN GOING NUCLEAR, WHICH MAY SEEM TO PAKISTAN ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE  
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IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. HE SIMPLY SHRUGGED HIS SHOULDERS IN RESPONSE.

4. NF HAVE JUST RECEIVED THE TEXT OF PRESS GUIDANCE FOR THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN ON THE FRG/IRAN AGREEMENT (STATE 167245). IT REINFORCES MY INITIAL IMPRESSION THAT IT WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL AND MAY EVEN BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IF WE FEEL OBLIGED TO SAY SOMETHING

ONDTTHIS SUBJECT WE MIGHT TAKE NOTE OF IRAN'S COMMIT-  
MENT TO THE NPT AND THE HIGHT PROBABILITY THAT IT WILL  
NOT ACQUIRE A REPROCESSING FACILITY FOR SOME YEARS,

IF THEN, AND THAT IF IT DOES IT IS PREPARED TO OBSERVE  
ACCEPTABLE SAFEGUARDS. I RECALL WE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN  
ABLE TO SAY SOMETHING REASSURING IN RESPONDING TO  
RECENT PUBLICITY ABOUT OUR OWN NUCLEAR AGREEMENT WITH  
SPAIN, WHO IS NOT SIGNATORY TO THE NPT.  
HELMS

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